

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W
----- 059608

R 281755Z SEP 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0158
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 3364

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, US
SUBJECT: IMPLICATIONS OF AUTONOMOUS TURKISH ADMINISTRATION TRAVEL
REGULATIONS: CREEPING RECOGNITION

REF: A. NICOSIA 3309
B. NICOSIA 3354

1. SUMMARY. ATA MOVING RAPIDLY TOWARDS ESTABLISHMENT FORMAL PASS SYSTEM WHICH WILL FORCE USG MAKE FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS RE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH "AUTONOMOUS TURKISH ADMINISTRATION." EMBASSY RECOMMENDATIONS ON POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION, INCLUDING NATO CONSULTATIONS, OUTLINED BELOW. END SUMMARY.
2. TIME RAPIDLY APPROACHING WHEN USG MUST MAKE FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS ON ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH "AUTONOMOUS TURKISH ADMINISTRATION" (ATA) OF REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. EMBASSY'S REJECTION OF "AIDE MEMOIR" SEPTEMBER 24 MAY HAVE GAINED TIME, BUT NOT MUCH.
3. TURK EMBASSY DCM TELLS US ATA AUTHORITIES WILL SHORTLY BEGIN ISSUING ID CARDS TO MEMBERS OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS WISHING TRAVEL BETWEEN NICOSIA AND KYRENIA. WE TOLD HIM THAT USG REPS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE PROBLEMS ACCEPTING SUCH CARDS FROM OTHER RHAN OSMAN

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OREK OR RAUF DENKTASH, IN THEIR RESPECTIVE CONSTITUTIONAL ROLES

OF MINISTER DEFENSE AND VICE PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS,
OR THEIR OFFICES. WE ADDED WE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER MOST CAREFULLY
ALL IMPLICATIONS OF OUR ACCEPTING ANY DOCUMENT EMANATING FROM ATA.

4. WE EXPECT TURKS WILL ATTEMPT OBTAIN BACKDOOR CREEPING RECOGNITION
FOR ATA INITIALLY BY ISSUING TRAVEL PASSES UNDER ATA AUSPICES AND
SEAL FOR ALL TRAVEL IN TURK OCCUPATION ZONE. PERMANENT RESIDENTS
IN ZONE ALREADY HAVE PERMITS FOR TRAVEL WITHIN KYRENIA AREA,
ALTHOUGH THEY MUST APPLY FOR SPECIFIC PERMISSION TO VISIT NICOSIA.
DEFENSE ATTACHE AND KARAVAS FBIS DIRECTOR HAVE ALSO RECEIVED STRONG
INDICATIONS THAT FORMAL ATA PASS SYSTEM IS IMMINENT.

5. LINGUISTIC GLOSS IS SIGNIFICANT RE ATA; IN TURKISH, LOCAL
AUTHORITIES INVARIABLY OMIT WORD "CYPRIOT" FROM ATA LABEL THEY
HAVE COINED TO REPLACE FORMER TURK CYPRIOT PROVISIONAL ADMINIS-
TRATION (TCPA). ATA SOMETIMES APPEARS UNDER RUBRIC, "REPUBLIC
OF CYPRUS." OMISSION OF "CYPRIOT" APPEARS INTENTIONAL AND
CERTAINLY REFLECTS MORE ACCURATELY PRESENT REALITIES (IN WHICH
MAINLAND TURKS HOLD ALL REINS OF POWER) THAN ENGLISH LANGUAGE
EUPHEMISM ASCRIBING AUTONOMY TO TURK CYPRIOTS.

6. TURKISH OFFICIALS BASE CLAIM TO AUTONOMOUS STATUS PRIMARILY
ON FACT THAT GUARANTOR POWERS IN JULY 30 GENEVA DECLARATION
NOTED "EXISTENCE IN PRACTICE IN THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OF TWO
AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATIONS." EMBASSY NICOSIA HAS LONG RECOG-
NIZED EXISTENCE IN PRACTICE OF TWO ADMINISTRATIONS; WE HAVE DEALT
WITH "NONCONSTITUTIONAL" PARTS OF TCPA AT ALL LEVELS FOR
YEARS, ON INFORMAL BASIS. FROM TURK POINT OF VIEW, THIS
EMBASSY'S RECORD AMONG BEST IN TOWN. HOWEVER, THERE REMAINS--AS
WE CONTINUE TO IMPRESS ON TURKS HERE-- A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN WORKING RELATIONSHIPS AND ACQUIESCING IN ACTS, OF WHICH
WE ARE ONLY SEEING THE BEGINING, BE INTERPRETED AS DE JURE
RECOGNITION.

7. EMBASSY CONTINUES BELIEVE THAT USG SHOULD TRY AVOID ENHANCING
DE JURE STATUS OF ATA IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE OUTCOME OF
ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE TALKS, IF SUCCESSFUL,
WILL PERFORCE ACCEPT REALITIES AND GRANT SUBSTANTIAL AUTONOMY TO
TURKISH COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, CLERIDES' POSITION IN HIS OWN
COMMUNITY HANGS BY SLENDER THREAD, LARGELY ON REFUGEE RETURN AND
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RELATED ISSUE OF HOW MUCH TERRITORY HE MAY AGREE LEAVE UNDER
TURKISH CONTROL. INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF DE JURE STATUS FOR
ATA AT THIS TIME WOULD BE READ LOCALLY, IN ABSENCE SIGNIFICANT
TURK MILITARY WITHDRAWAL, AS SUPPORT FOR ANKARA'S MAXIMUM CLAIMS.
WE DOUBT CLERIDES COULD SURVIVE THIS.

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR TWOHIE.

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ACTION SS-30

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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8. WE RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT CONSIDER FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

A. CONSULTATIONS WITH NATO ALLIES (PERHAPS IN CYPRUS GROUP) HOPEFULLY LEADING TO COORDINATED APPROACH TO GOT IN BRUSSELS, ANKARA, NICOSIA. MAXIMUM POSITION WOULD BE TO INSIST THAT ALL DIPLOMATIC CARDS ISSUED BY GOCYPRUS REMAIN VALID FOR TRAVEL THROUGHOUT ISLAND. FALLBACK POSITION SHOULD BE TO INSIST THAT TURK CYPRIOTS ISSUE ANY NEW DOCUMENTS IN MANNER CONSISTENT WITH 1960 CONSTITUTION, UNDER SIGNATURE EITHER OR DENKTASH OR OREK IN THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AND NOT THEIR ATA CAPACITIES. SO LONG AS "REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS/ RUBRIC AND "CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNATURE" OBTAINED ON DOCUMENT, WE COULD LIVE WITH IT.

B. URGING TURKS, THROUGH NATO-COORDINATED APPROACH AND THROUGH OTHER RECEPTIVE EMBASSIES IN NICOSIA (PERHAPS YUGOSLAVIA AND EGYPT), TO RESTORE FULL DIPLOMATIC FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN TURK OCCUPATION ZONE. ALL MISSIONS HERE, BUT PARTICULARLY THOSE OF TURKEY'S ALLIES, ENCOUNTERING SUBSTANTIAL DIFFICULTIES IN CARRYING OUT CONSULAR, OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES. WE HAVE BEEN DENIED ACCESS TO VAST MAJORITY OF TURKISH-OCCUPIED AREA. WE RECEIVE VERY LIMITED COOPERATION IN EFFORTS PROTECT LIVES, PROPERTY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS. TURKISH MILITARY DOES NOT APPRECIATE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC

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PRACTICES. IT INORDINATELY, XENOPHOBICALLY, SUSPICIOUS OF ANY FOREIGN TRAVEL IN ITS OCCUPATION ZONE. THIS SITUATION WILL NOT IMPROVE WITHOUT SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANKARA.

C. ALSO REMINDING TURKS, PRIVATELY, THAT THEIR OWN INTERESTS WOULD BE ILL-SERVED BY ABRUPT ATA STEPS WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE, AND PERHAPS ABORT, CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATIONS. WE MUST URGE GOT TO OBSERVE ITS "GUARANTOR" ROLE TO LETTER, AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ACT IN HARMONY WITH 1960 CONSTITUTION AND LONDON-ZURICH TREATIES, UNDER WHOSE UMBRELLA IT CLAIMS TO HAVE INTERVENED, UNTIL THESE REPLACED BY OTHER MUTUALLY AGREED ACCORDS.

9. TURKS MAY PROVE ADAMANT IN DISREGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL/TREATY FRAMEWORK. THEY MAY POSE FOREIGN ACCEPTANCE OF ATA LEGALITY AS SINE QUA NON FOR OBTAINING DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR ACCESS TO TURK OCCUPATION ZONE. IN THAT EVENT--AND, IN ABSENCE STRONG COUNTER-SIGNAL FROM ANKARA, WE DETECT RAPID DRIFT IN THIS DIRECTION-- USG WILL FACE HARD CHOICE: TO STAND FAST ON PRINCIPLE OF NOT RECOGNIZING ATA IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS (A PRINCIPLE WHICH ALREADY SHAKEN BY DE FACTO WORKING RELATIONSHIPS EVOLVING IN NICOSIA), OR TO ACQUIESCE IN UNILATERAL TURKISH MOVE IN ORDER ASSURE OUR ABILITY PERFORM CONSULAR OBLIGATIONS, MAINTAIN ACCESS AND PRESENCE IN TURK ZONE.

10. USG CAN TEMPORIZE, BUT ONLY FOR SHORT WHILE, ON THESE ISSUES. WE FACE URGENT PROBLEMS INVOLVING AMERICAN CITIZENS, THEIR PROPERTY IN TURK OCCUPATION ZONE, AND WE NEED TO DEAL WITH TURK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP SO THAT WE MAY ASSIST IN CURRENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

11. APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT COMMENT. CRAWFORD

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR TWOHIE.

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